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leaf check for 6 rows. The dentals are gathered together and braided in three-ply, and fastened with a knot; the sinistrals are similarly treated.

Platter *Chelo* (*lousou oia*) is a platter for serving fish. It has a single-strip commencement in which four leaflets from the left function as dentals and four leaflets on the right are turned back to function as sinistrals. Two leaflets carried on one strip are added to make the plating closer. The plait is in check for a depth of 12 inches when dentals and sinistrals are gathered together on one side and tied in a double overhead knot with the gathered wefts from the other side.

Platter *Chelo* (*lousou oia lelei*) is a platter for serving the dish called *lelei*. It has the turned-back, two-strip commencement, and the body of the platter is plaited in open leaf check for a depth of 12 inches. In finishing the edge, all the dentals are carried across to the right side and knotted. Similarly, the sinistrals are all carried across to the left side and knotted.

MALO

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Formerly the everyday dress of the Pukapukan man was the coconut-leaf *malo* (*malo kuuia*), made by ordinary plaiting technique. It was worn during working hours and thrown away when soiled. The following *malo* is typical:

Malo Chilo (*malo kuuia*) is made from a strip of midrib $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, carrying 10 leaflets (pl. 3B). Each of the six leaflets in the middle of the strip is split into four lengths longitudinally. These 24 elements are plaited in a close check to a depth of $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches, width 7 inches. What is really a small coconut sheet is narrowed by plaiting two elements as one for five rows and then four elements as one for one row, the ends being gathered together and braided in a four-ply tail of which each ply is composed of four elements. The tail is $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and finished with an overhead knot. The sheet material has a natural concavity on the dull side of the leaflets. The two end leaflets on either end of the commencement strip are each split into two longitudinally and braided in a four-ply tail, finished with an overhead knot, 24 inches long on one side, 20 inches long on the other. The commencement strip is chewed with the teeth and softened before wearing.

FANS

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Both coconut leaf and pandanus fans (*u*) are made by the women and used on all occasions by men and women. (See pl. 3, A.) A square fan made of pandanus is similar to a type of Samoan fan figured by Buck (27, p. 633, and pl. LV, B, 4), but the style is said to be old in Pukapuka:

This fan (*Chilo*), *u kuuia kuuia* or *u kuuia*, is plaited in check with wefts of *lilo* and *lousou kuuia* (pl. 3A, 1). It is 7 inches square and mounted on a handle of *pandanus* wood 24 inches long and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide. The commencement of the plaiting is by the ordinary pandanus mat technique. The left edge and the bottom edge are plaited to a depth corresponding to half the size of the completed fan. At the working edge a shed is made the width of the fan. A long strip of *lilo* material, the width of the handle, is laid in this shed, passing underneath and back over the last element of the shed. The handle, which has been whittled down to half its thickness, is laid in the shed on top of the *lilo*. The strip of *lilo* is brought back and laid on top of the handle, the free ends of the *lilo* strip projecting beyond the proximal end of the handle. Plaiting continues beyond the handle which is then gripped by the crossing wefts, or alternate elements forming the shed are laid down and taken up. The fan is then turned so that the previous left edge is at the bottom of the plaiting and the handle projects to the left.

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The new functioning left edge of the fan is now plaited and the top edge finished off with the customary mat finishing technique (*ihikings*), the projecting sinistrals being cut off flush with the top. The dextrals are pushed underneath crossing wefts and cut off close to the right edge of the fan. The free ends of the *lilo* strip are tied round the handle with a double overhand knot to prevent the fan from coming off the handle when in use.

Coconut-leaf fans of characteristic Polynesian shape, base of triangle at the top, apex at the bottom, are made either with midribs to which the leaflets are attached or else with leaflets stripped from the midrib.

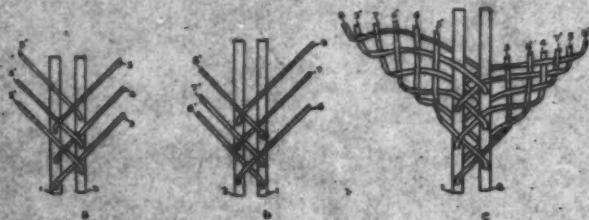


FIGURE 17.—Commencement of coconut-leaf fan (*ili yuhuyuku*). a, midrib strips (1, 2) shown with only three upper leaflets on each to avoid confusion: leaflet 3 carried across to opposite side, opposing leaflet 5 being carried across to its opposite side on top of leaflet 3; leaflet 4 carried across, and right leaflet 4' similarly carried across, passing on top of leaflet 4; similarly with leaflets 5, 5'; each leaflet crosses alternately until all are crossed. b, under leaflets of midrib cross as in a: midribs turned over so that left midrib (1) is to right and right midrib (2) is to left; each leaflet crosses alternately from either side as in a; leaflet 6, which is under leaflet corresponding to 3, crosses over leaflet 6', corresponding to leaflet 5'. c, establishment of plaiting stroke: leaflet 3 from midrib 1 carried across and given forward half turn to engage with leaflet 6' which has come across from underneath and is itself given a forward half turn to engage with leaflet 4 from midrib 1; similarly with leaflets 7, 8 and leaflet 5; on other side, leaflet 5' engages with leaflet 6, leaflets 4', 5' with leaflets 7, 8 from opposite side; plaiting continued by carrying across all leaflets on either midrib to opposite side and plaiting in closed leaf check; when body of plaiting is large enough, top edge finishes with ordinary pandanus-mat finishing technique.

Fan C8174 (*ili yuhuyuku*) is made from two pieces of midrib cut from the tip end of the coconut leaf (pl. 3, 4, 3). Each midrib is 13 inches long. The left midrib has 9 leaflets on one side, 8 on the other; the right midrib has 9 leaflets on one side, 7 on the other. In the finished fan, the butt ends of the midribs form the handle. Commencement and establishment of plaiting stroke are shown in figure 17. The fan is plaited in closed leaf check. At the top, each closed leaf is split into two and the finishing edge is plaited with five rows of check. Commencing with the top left corner, the edge is finished with the common mat technique (*ihikings*), the projecting sinistrals cut off; the free ends of the dextrals are cut off on the line where each weft was previously split into two. The fan is neat and compact, the *ihikings* finishing technique providing a strong, slightly curved finishing edge. This fan is 16½ inches long, 15½ inches wide across the top.

The same technique is employed with individual leaflets. The required number of leaflets, depending on the size of the fan, are stripped from the tip of the midrib and

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divided into two bundles with the tips of the leaflets lying in the same direction. The butt ends of the two bundles are laid together and roughly fastened with a leaflet. Commencing about 4 inches from the proximal ends of the butt leaf bundles, leaflet 1 from the left bundle is passed to the right, leaflet 1 from the right bundle is passed to the left over leaflet 1 of the left bundle. This process is continued until all the leaflets have been crossed over. The leaflets are then plaited in closed leaf check and the finishing edge made with the *ihikings* technique. The two bundles containing the butt ends of the leaves are bound together with transverse turns of sennit, the completed lashing having buried commencement and finishing ends (pl. 3A2). The technique is the same as that of the midrib-handle fan shown in figure 17 save that the handle is composed of the butt ends of the leaflets bound together.

Fan C818p (*ih yacyae*) is a smaller fan made by the same technique. It commences with check plaiting, goes on to twilled twos, twilled threes, and finishes with rows of check. The fan is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, 6 inches wide at the top, which is straight instead of curved as with the other two fans. The handle is bound with nine turns of common string.

CORDAGE

283 Various materials are used as cords. Readily obtainable materials that serve a need of the moment are coconut leaflets and strips of fiber from the coconut midrib or from dried *pulaka* stalks. These are used without preparation and discarded when no longer necessary. More permanent cordage is made from the husks of the coconut and from bark of the *wao* tree. *Wao*^a fiber is used for fishlines where quality is more important than quantity; coconut fiber is used for every variety of cord where strength and quantity are desired. Human hair is occasionally used to make short cords by which valuable ornaments (*yawa*) are hung from the neck.

Wao fiber is prepared for the finer fishlines as follows:

Bark is peeled (*wawole*) by a man from a small branch or sapling (*yuli*) of the *wao* tree and rolled up into a bundle (*pohai*). A woman proceeds with the task. She puts the bark in a wooden bowl and covers it with fresh water. Then she places a strip of bark on a flat surface, a special board or the blade of a canoe paddle, with the inner surface of the bark lying downward on the board, and scrapes (*waia*) away the green outer bark with a shell until only the white inner bark is left. When all the strips of bark have been scraped, they are braided together at the ends by the man or woman to make a bundle of strips termed *titi wao*. This *titi* is hung in the sun for about two weeks to bleach. At the end of this time, each strip is rubbed with a half coconut shell until it is soft and pliable. Each strip is then shredded (*seyiooyi*) into narrow widths (*yake*) which are ready to be made into fishline.

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412 Appliances used in *wao* bark preparation are:

Scraping board C804 (*papa waia wao*) is a board of *pupae* wood, 26 inches long, 4 inches wide, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. The scraping surface has a slight transverse convexity.

Shell scraper C806 (*hosi*) is a highly polished and smoothed black-lipped pearl shell; greatest length $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, greatest width $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, thickness at the hinge $\frac{3}{16}$ inch, thickness at the lip $\frac{1}{16}$ inch.

283 Hank of fiber C813 (*titi wao*) is a semi-bleached hank of prepared *wao* bark from which line may be made. Thirty-one strips of bark ranging in length from 3 feet to 6

^a The *wao* is *wao*; fiber prepared from its bark, *wao*.

CLOTHING

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The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings). Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launio* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launio*). These articles of clothing were called generically *uokakouu*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu uokapupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf *malo* has been given (p. 141). To wear the *malo*, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

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The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kaleua*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*lue*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted acaniti is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C8190 conforms in all particulars to the above description.

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Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these girdles were made of the bark of the *walo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *metai uelo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or was wound round the waist (*pepela hi te metai uelo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a seniti cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

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Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*kaka niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kaleua*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *uokamala uae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wetu welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

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The headdress of *Yamaunga* was also called *sumanga*, but was associated with *Te Matungatu* and *Talitongamuku*. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

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Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

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Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tialo* flowers.

VILLAGE DECORATIONS

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For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandifiers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *muko welo* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakuu yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pola puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*ahi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

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The *titi muko welo* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain man of prepared pandanus (*litu*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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girdle with a single overhead knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain headband of sucho male leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *Amorcania*, *labou yili*, *pola paka*, and *seale* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

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Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the new plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nau* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of wao fiber were termed *masa tisi ai*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basis garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

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Edge-Partington (8, ad ser., pl. 383) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*). This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

BREAST ORNAMENTS

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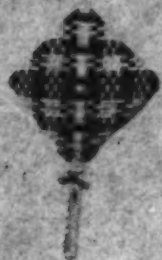
Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. *Leis* (*yoi*) are made of *tiolo* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiolo* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus kay. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yoi*. One type of breast ornament (*yoi lihi ai*) is shown in figure 19a. Another

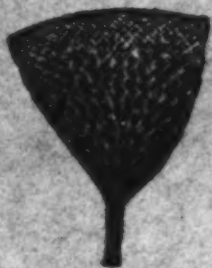
1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

BERNICE P. DUNN MUSEUM

BULLETIN 150, PLATE 3

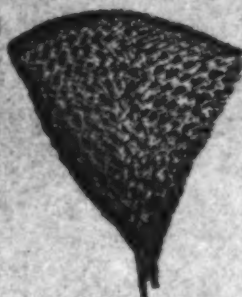


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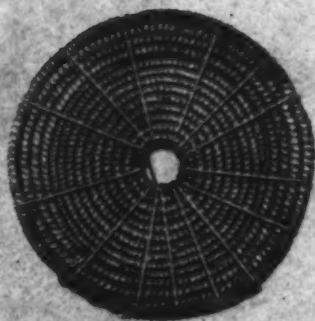


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FANS AND MALO. 4, FANS: 1. PLAITED PANDANUS MATERIAL; 2. PLAITED WITH LEAFLETS STRIPPED FROM COCONUT MIDRIB, BUTT ENDS OF LEAFLETS GATHERED TOGETHER AND BOUND WITH SENNIT TO MAKE A HANDLE; 3. MADE WITH TWO LENGTHS OF COCONUT MIDRIB AND LEAFLETS PLAITED IN CLOSE CHECK. 5, MALO OF COCONUT LEAF; MIDRIB STRIP TOGETHER WITH BRAIDED END LEAFLETS FORM WAIST GIRDLE, BODY OF PLAITED LEAFLETS CONCEALS GENITALS, AND BRAIDED TAIL IS PASSED BETWEEN LEGS, FASTENED TO WAIST GIRDLE AT BACK. C, MALO OF FIVE-PLY BRAIDED SENNIT, ROLLED FOR STORAGE AS A DISC AND HELD TOGETHER BY TRANSVERSE TURNS OF FINER THREE-PLY SENNIT.